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THE COMMONS

A Monthly Record Devoted to Aspects of Life and Labor from the Social Settlement Point of View.
ENTERED AT CHICAGO P. O. AS SECOND-CLASS MAIL MATTER.

Whole Number 45.

CHICAGO.

APRIL 30, 1900.

ROAMING IN THOUGHT.

*R*OAMING in thought over the Universe, I saw the title that is called Good steadily hastening toward immortality,

And the vast all that is called Evil I saw hastening to merge itself and become lost and dead.

UNKNOWN WORKMAN, AGAINST THE SKY!

BY A PASSING SPECTATOR.

[FOR THE COMMONS.]

Hail, unknown workman, against the sky!
Who are you, up there on the tall building?
I cannot see your face, or look into your eyes.
I pass by on the street far below and wonder who you are.

One of many, are you, too, like me, the very center of the Universe?

Does the sun shine and the breeze blow, especially for you?

Until now, I thought it was all for me.

Are you thinking thoughts of your own up there, as you lay the bricks and flick away the mortar from the edges with ringing trowel?

Have you a home, wife, children, whom you love?

Have you books, flowers, hobbies, for the leisure hours?

Is your heart full only of your own affairs—what business have you with affairs of which I know nothing?

Can it be that I am no more to you than you are to me—not so much indeed?

Nay, you have built a great building in which one day I may be sheltered.

You yourself are this moment good for my soul—am I any good for yours?

What have I ever done for you?

Hail, brother, look down in God's name and forgive my debt—

Unknown workman, far up there against the sky.

You yourself so much now to me, while I am still nothing at all to you. J. P. G.

BETWEEN THE LINES IN CHICAGO'S INDUSTRIAL CIVIL WAR.

BY GRAHAM TAYLOR.

C HICAGO is keeping her reputation good as the storm center of American industrial life. In no place in the country, if in the industrial world, is the appeal from both sides quicker and readier to the force of sheer physical endurance and even to measures of violence. Long before the lines were drawn in this fateful conflict a public-spirited effort was made upon the part of a few who knew the dreadful issues involved to enlist as conciliators some men who were in position to mediate. Their rough re-



JOHN PALMER GAVIT.

ply was in effect, "It is none of the public's business. Let the contractors and the Building Trades Council fight it out." War was soon declared, and "all's fair in war" has defined the "belligerents' rights" ever since. The disgraceful situation, characterized by labor's "picket lines" and "slugging" details, and contractors' "barracks," "commissariat" and "police escorts" has dragged its weary length for three mortal months throughout the entire city and far beyond.

THE APPEAL TO FORCE.

To allow the elimination of the personal elements of reason, conscience and heart, and to leave the human issues to be determined by the arbitrament of force is as disastrous as it is disgraceful to all parties concerned, most of all to the public.

It is to distrust ourselves, our law, our moral sense and our religion. All too late the public is becoming conscious of the fact that it is the third and greatest party to the controversy, which foots the bills for police protection, damage suits and charity relief; pays the loss incurred by the long suspension of the greatest group of industries in the city, and suffers not only the incalculable personal losses entailed, but the irrevocable damage done to the industrial reputation of the whole city by the wide advertisement of the insecurity of labor and capital, of person and property, in Chicago.

FEEBLE ASSERTION OF PUBLIC RIGHTS.

Thus far the right of the public to interfere in the struggle has been very inconsequently asserted and almost contemptuously ignored. The "Congressional Commission" happened along and took "testimony" that consisted in large part of violently expressed ex parte opinion from both sides. The City Council appointed a committee of reconciliation. This the Contractors' Association declined to meet, with a mild-mannered rebuke to well-meaning persons to whose "interference" the prolonging and intensity of the struggle were charged. The discussion of the situation in some of the influential clubs has been characterized, with a few notable exceptions, by the special pleadings of those who were avowedly advocates of personal business interests immediately at stake in the contest.

The Grand Jury rightfully instituted its investigation of the situation. Its power to indict was only another point of advantage to be struggled for or against, and it has had there-

fore little or no judicial value in disclosing the real facts in the case.

The State Board of Arbitration has been ignored.

POLITICAL SUBSIDIZING OF LABOR.

The city administration forfeited its supreme opportunity to render its greatest public service from the very beginning of its power by having an unmistakably partisan labor policy. It deliberately attempted to subsidize organized labor by distributing little appointive offices among the leaders of its allied trades unions. No more disastrous policy has ever paralyzed the power or menaced the future of organized labor in Chicago than that which tolerates the acceptance of these subsidies. Their incumbents are really held as hostages for the delivery of the labor vote, while boasting of the power of labor to extort so many salaried positions from the administration. If organized labor would really have and exercise political power, why does it not come out into the open to nominate and elect its own representatives to elective offices through which its principles can be carried into public policy by the enactment and administration of legislation? In lieu of this hard-earned but more effective political advantage, organized labor has tamely submitted to a policy which keeps even its best and most incorruptible officers under a cloud of suspicion; tempts its worse and weaker leaders to pervert both their labor leadership and their political offices to their own advantage; destroys the confidence not only of the public, but of its own rank and file in the integrity of the movement and shuts it out from such legitimate political influence as it has long occupied in England, quite as much to the public welfare as to the promotion of its own class interests. The educational influence upon non-union labor and public opinion of legitimate political campaigning is a vantage-point which has never been occupied by the American labor movement, from the lack of which it is suffering more than from any other cause. No honest friend of organized labor, such as the writer may justify his claim to be, can defend the spirit and policy of the Building Trades Council as a whole, or deny the contractors' charges that both they and the public have suffered from many unjust exactions at its hands. The resort to violence is not only indefensible, but suicidal to the most vital interests of union labor. It costs the movement not only the deeper alienation of non-union labor, which is its only source of growth and power, but also the support and even the fair hearing

of the public, which is the only hope of the ascendancy of its principles.

SOME INCONSISTENCIES ON THE OTHER SIDE.

On the other hand, the Contractors' Association bears its full share of responsibility for the whole critical situation. It is conceded to have had many just causes of complaint and even exasperation, which surely should mitigate too harsh judgment of its narrowness and mistakes. It has not been consistently public-spirited or free from class-conscious interests and tactics. While insisting upon the disbanding of the Council, it resolutely insists upon maintaining its own association. While demanding the cessation of the sympathetic strike, it busily organized a sympathetic lockout. While vigorously, and in part very justly, protesting against the interference of organized labor with the liberty of its contractors to purchase material from whom they pleased, it countenanced and abetted, if it did not organize, a boycott of building material producers against the employers of union labor allied with the Building Trades Council. Charging the men with refusing to keep their own agreement, in some instances at least, it locked them out for taking the Saturday half-holiday, which had been granted in their own agreement with them. While protesting against what may have been too great a limitation of the amount of daily work to be exacted, they failed sufficiently to recognize the complaint of the men against the "rusher" being allowed to set the pace for a fair day's work. While ostensibly, and perhaps conscientiously, waging this industrial warfare, offensive and defensive, for "industrial liberty" and "free labor," the smaller contractors are yet to be heard to the contrary in defense of their own invaded independence and of the curtailed area for free competition remaining to those of them who do not wish to belong to the association.

HOPE ONLY IN CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

The one hope of a permanent solution of the present situation and of the prevention of similar disastrous contests in the future, lies in the arousement and education of public sentiment to take its own mediating part and provide its own judicial measures for authoritatively settling these dangerously divisive issues by friendly conciliation, if possible, or by final arbitration, if necessary.

In strong contrast with our belated appeal to force are the humanely enlightened procedures elsewhere. In France there are seventeen "Councils of Experts," before which 45,000 cases are annually brought, of which 66% are

settled at a cost not exceeding six cents to each of the disputants. In England "The Trade Board," mainly through conciliation before strike or lockout, has in twenty-two years affected sixty wage revisions and in nine years has settled 850 cases at issue, only 18 of which required arbitration, and only four the decision of a referee. Massachusetts leads all our States in her provision for and success in conciliation and arbitration. In eight years her "Board of Arbitration" reports 216 cases referred to it, 105 of which were settled by its own decision, 55 through conciliation, 23 by the parties themselves, and 88 cases failed of adjustment. But in no case in which both sides asked the Board to arbitrate did its decision fail to stand.

CONCILIATORY ADVICE UNHEEDED.

The Commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the Pullman strike concluded its report with this exhortation in the interests of industrial peace, which, after six years, is seriously and sadly timely:

"The Commission urges employers to recognize labor organizations; that such organizations be dealt with through representatives with special reference to conciliation and arbitration when difficulties are threatened or arise. It is satisfied that employers should come in closer touch with labor, and should recognize that while the interests of capital and labor are not identical, they are reciprocal. The Commission is satisfied that if employers everywhere will endeavor to act in concert with labor, that if when wages can be raised under economic conditions they be raised voluntarily, and that if when there are reductions, reasons be given for the reduction, much friction can be avoided. It is also satisfied that if employers will consider employees as thoroughly essential to industrial success as capital and thus take labor into consultation at proper times, much of the severity of strikes can be tempered and their number reduced."

MORE LIGHT, LESS HEAT.

To emphasize only or chiefly the personal animosities and class antagonisms as the causes of industrial differences is hopelessly to misconceive and needlessly to embitter a situation already so little understood and so complicated by bad blood as to be without any solution perhaps to the majority of men. The very first step toward solving this situation is to gain the frank acknowledgment that the differences which divide the industrial world are real. Those who, because they know too little of it, or who, because of personal experiences

think they know too much, need to learn that present situations date further back than yesterday's strike or lockout, and have further reaching causes than quarrelsome grievances of some men against others. We all need to learn what it is especially hard for those immediately involved in crises to realize, that these present situations are the outcome of long historical processes, and are due to widespread industrial conditions and deep-lying economic causes. Not then until the industrial differences are attributed in the public mind to other and higher causes than mere individual selfishness and personal antagonism will the movement to settle them rise higher than a more or less annoying quarrel. Incalculable will be the practical value of the common understanding of the historical antecedents, economic principles, social conditions and industrial forces, which account for the division, if not for the specific form of each several issue, and which are the prime factors for the solution of the problem of industrial peace and progress.

The justice and intelligence of our social judgments depend more than anything else upon what some one has called "the geologist's time-sense."

POSTSCRIPTS.

By official invitation the writer attended May 13 a convention "of all trades unions," consisting of 500 representatives of 190 labor organizations. The substance of the above article was used to lead up to the proposition of an impartial investigation of the obstacles standing in the way of the settlement of the issues involved. Not only was the most respectful hearing given to the entire address, but even the severe criticism of the political corruption and other perversion of unionism was vigorously applauded.

The unanimous action of the convention authorizing its chairman, together with the writer, to nominate the investigating commission had an immediate and far-reaching result. The public became a third party to the controversy. The daily press became more conciliatory in tone, demanding from both sides concessions necessary to a settlement. Pressure, privately and publicly, has been exerted upon the central bodies to withdraw and leave the several trades unions and the contractors in the respective trades face to face in conference for the adjustment of their differences. Pending the results of these efforts to take a shorter cut to a solution of the problem and awaiting the response of the contractors to the offer of the Real Estate Board to mediate, the investigation will be held in abeyance for a few days. But the appeal to reason will be promptly renewed and vigorously pressed, if the "fight-it-out" policy continues to be asserted. The public conscience will make short work of whatever either side may captiously or selfishly interpose to prevent or delay the prompt and permanent adjustment of an issue which is costing 30,000 people their livelihood and incalculable loss to the whole city.

John Palmer Gavit. * * *

THIS first personal allusion made in these columns to Mr. Gavit appears after his relinquishment of the control of THE COMMONS in accordance with his announcement in the issue for February. What he would never have said of himself, it is due the friends of Chicago Commons and the settlement movement, as well as the readers of this paper, that another should say of him. For no truer expression of the settlement spirit has been given by the whole resident personnel than he has embodied these nearly five years. Leaving an independent position and a pleasant suburban home in the East, Mrs. Gavit and he entered upon their residence at Chicago Commons at the crisis of its initiatory struggle, absolutely refusing to hold any one responsible even for maintenance. They not only risked but gave their all. With an abandon to the common cause from first to last they stood ready to do whatever needed to be done, from housekeeping to teaching and editing. Mrs. Gavit with rare ability and entire devotion has given herself to the aid of Mrs. Hegner in the development and conduct of the Kindergarten Training School, the Mothers' Meetings, and the readjustment of the Tabernacle Primary Department upon the kindergarten basis, the Girls' Progressive Club, and the whole round of settlement details, which annihilate leisure and leave little privacy for the home life.

Arriving upon the scene when the work of Chicago Commons was crippled by the withdrawal of some residents and the illness of others, Mr. Gavit unreservedly assumed the burden of any and everything under which no one else stood. With strong inclination for literary leisure and cultivated tastes for intellectual pursuits, he has all these years, during which it was impossible for residents to specialize, consented not only, but insisted upon being a man-of-all-work in the settlement. Interruptions were cheerfully accepted as the order of daily life, in which purposed consecutive effort has been the exception, filling in only the interstices of time. With no capital, excepting friendly credit at the printer's, and with little or no help, excepting such casual and occasional co-operation as the writer's already overcrowded life could now and then render, he bravely started and more bravely has sustained THE COMMONS. Not only has he borne the sole financial responsibility and business care of the paper, but he has written himself almost every line in its four volumes not appearing under other signatures. To the

quality and value of his editorial work, for which he has an innate journalistic sense and an equipment assiduously acquired thro several years of service on the staff of five eastern papers, our correspondents bear witness in confessing with unconsciously common consent that it is "the only paper, every word of which they read." Much as we will miss this co operation in the work, even more will we feel the loss of the merry heart, the ready wit, and the deep spirit of consecration to the social betterment of the common life that have been so large a part of our settlement household, and have entered so vitally into the companionship in which each life in our circle has been lived.

The load seems lonelier without them. But again we are admonished to save our life by being willing to lose it. Thereunto is the settlement life called—to build the community up out of itself. If at any cost Chicago Commons can thus contribute out of its own very life to the social unification and brotherly betterment of the terribly strained industrial relations of to-day, it will be content to decrease even to disappearance that fratricidal strife may cease, and the peace of justice and brotherhood may prevail.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

Robert Browning Hall's Unique Features. * * *

The fifth annual report of the Robert Browning Settlement in South London describes some unique features of settlement service. One of the most successful of its appointments seems to be the "Pleasant Tuesday Afternoon" for women. In addition to the educational and social features of a woman's club, much is made of the principle of co-operation. To purchase the necessaries of life in larger quantities and at less price, the members have organized themselves into such co-operative groups as "The Coal Club," "The Clothing Club," "The Women's Goose Club," the latter to obtain poultry and provisions for their family holiday dinners. A trained nurse is also employed to attend the sick of the membership. The popularity of this "Pleasant Tuesday Afternoon" movement among the women of South London is attested by the enrollment of 750 of them in its membership and an average weekly attendance of 450.

Another distinctive emphasis in the work of this settlement is placed upon its effort for crippled children. No less than 73 of them are gathered weekly for instruction in elementary art and industrial work, and summer holidays are also secured for them in the country.

Chicago Commons.



CHICAGO COMMONS.

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Settlement Finances. * * *

Owing to the Warden's long preoccupation by his exacting professorial work and to the diversion to the building fund of the larger contributions toward the support of the settlement work, there is a deficit in current accounts of between \$500 and \$600 as we go to press. The situation is the more embarrassing in view of the imperative public duty laid upon Prof. Taylor by the critical industrial situation in Chicago. We do not see our way thro to raise enough to carry our work over the summer and at the same time solicit the \$25,000 necessary to complete our new building before winter, unless we can secure the personal co-operation of the friends of Chicago Commons in this struggle. Any suggestions that will facilitate our access to possible donors or any use that others may make of the printed statement of our financial situation, illustrated by the design and plans of the new building, will afford us great relief under the burden of our final emergency.

Chicago Commons Items. * * *

OUR best winter's season's work has just closed.

WHILE we keenly feel and deeply regret the withdrawal of four of our residents, who have been longest and most efficient in the settlement service, we are grateful for the accession to our ranks of new residents who give every promise of having the old devotion to the so-

cial service of the common life, and marked efficiency. Applications for residence next fall and winter are beginning to be made.

THE young men have spontaneously organized an orchestra of a dozen or more members, under most competent leadership. It has already participated in two neighborhood public occasions with much credit and more prominence. Its weekly rehearsals are attended by a growing and appreciative audience, and are likely to become our free concert night in the new building.

A NEW feature added to our work this spring by the beneficence of a friend of Chicago Commons, is the Kitchen Garden class, composed of twenty-four little girls of ten years of age, who have been gathered from the neighboring public school, and have not hitherto been enlisted in any of our clubs and classes. The Kitchen Garden is under the direction of Miss Margaret Muir, who conducts two similar classes at other needy centers in the congested districts, which are sustained by the same considerate heart.

OUR summer campaign is laid out on the old lines with some new features. The preparations for Good Will Camp at Elgin and the usual outings are well in hand. We are glad that the all-too-scanty spaces about our own building are to be utilized as a playground for the children of our immediate neighborhood. Nothing touches the heart more than to see the use that has been made by the little folks of the street all these years of the approach to our residence. They take refuge like storm-driven birds from the whirl of the street for play in our little dooryard and for rest on our doorsteps.

AMONG the many interesting guests whom we have had the opportunity of entertaining none have paid the settlement a more significant visit than two Japanese gentlemen who have recently been with us. They have been sent by the Buddhists of their country to investigate the religious institutions of America and Europe, with special reference to the relation of the churches to the State, to the organization for Christian work and to the economic and industrial problems of the times. One of them, Dr. J. Chikadzumi, is director of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (somewhat corresponding to the Y. M. C. A.), and the other, Mr. E. Ikeyama, is a confidential counsellor to the Buddhist hierarchy. Their eager inquiries in English and German for facts, suggestions and literature, showed a high degree of intelligence and alertness.

The report for 1899 of the Chicago Bureau of Justice shows 4,618 persons given legal aid and advice during the year. This society is designed "to assist in procuring legal protection against injustice for those who are unable to protect themselves." We regard it as a commendable and practical form of philanthropy, and recommend co-operation by the settlements.

Persecution is the only name applicable to punishment inflicted on an individual in consequence of his opinions.—Shelley.

Literature and Bibliography

Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools, by HENRY W. THURSTON. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1899.

Professor Albion W. Small says exactly the right word in his introduction to Professor Thurston's work: "This book is precisely the kind of guide to elementary study of social facts that sociologists should recommend."

Ever since the aspects of social life began to interest the average person with the fascination of a new discovery, there has been a place for a simple, vital, popular text-book such as Professor Thurston has supplied. So far as we know, it is the only book of its kind, with the possible exception of Small & Vincent's "Introduction to the Study of Society." It is such a work as a leader of almost any kind of a group interested in the subject would find useful and inspiring. It awakens the conscience with a personal application to the fact that everything and every man are related to and interdependent with every other man and thing, and it directs the mind into ways of finding out how it happens so. It tells a good deal, but better than that, it puts the earnest student in a way to find out a great deal more for himself. In study groups, Bible classes, and the like, and for individuals, in the ministry, or like positions of leadership, it will certainly find its way and prove its value—to say nothing of its chiefly intended use in secondary schools.

Part I is devoted to the guidance and provocation of observation and interpretation of industrial and economic facts and forces, classification of utilities and utilizers, status and ownerships. Series of well-put questions here and throughout the work provoke inquiry and thought. Part II gives outlines of industrial history in England and the United States, and Part III analyzes elements of economic theory. Useful tables are given in the appendix, and there are a list of authorities and a food index.

Lyrics of Brotherhood (poems), by RICHARD BURTON. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1899. \$1.00.

Our quotations from Professor Burton's little book of verse attest our high estimate. The author is gaining in ethical tone and vision of brotherhood, and we look for further and greater work from his pen in time to come.

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GRAHAM TAYLOR, - - - - - EDITOR.

For particulars as to rates, terms of advertising, etc., see "Publisher's Corner" on last page.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

WITH this issue the sole responsibility for the conduct of THE COMMONS passes from the hands and heart of its founder to the editorial care of the only one in position to assume it. This paper has served the cause which the settlement stands for too widely and too well to be allowed to flag or fail for the lack of any sacrifice, which those enlisted in the movement can make to sustain its service and enlarge its circulation.

In stepping into the breach it was with the assurance that others sharing this conviction would rally to its support. Friends advantageously located to observe the tendencies of the social movement in this country and abroad, readily promised to furnish notes of their own observations to be used generally without signature. Others of recognized authority in their several specialties have agreed to provide one or more articles during the year on points at issue in current economic, industrial, social and ethical relationships. Brief reviews of books on these lines will be prepared by specialists. Mr. Gavit will regularly contribute to our columns from his new point of view. These features may add variety to the paper, but the scope and spirit, which have characterized it heretofore, we will strive to maintain. The distinctiveness of THE COMMONS, which justifies the struggle for its establishment and warrants whatever its development may cost, is its observation and promotion of the social movement from the settlement point of view. Its single aim is to spiritualize social life and to socialize spiritual life. Thus only may religion be brought to earth and human relationships be made divine.

FIRST of the series of special articles, announced above, will appear in the next issue of THE COMMONS. It has been generously furnished by Professor Isaac A. Loos of the University of Iowa, and treats of "The Ideal Republic." The suggestion of this theme was prompted by our high appreciation of his

"Studies in the Politics of Aristotle and the Republic of Plato," by publishing which, as one of its bulletins, the University of Iowa has placed under lasting obligation not only all students of political science and sociology, but all who would be intelligently interested in public affairs, upon which these ancient authors continue to have such a timely bearing.

DISCUSSION of the applicability of the Golden Rule to modern business in the Chicago Association of Congregational churches was noteworthy in the fact that none of the three "business men" who participated defended either the ethics or the permanency of the "competitive system," as the basis of a social order consistent with the Golden Rule. The transitional necessity of the principle of competition was admitted, but the enlargement of the idea of self-interest by the inclusion of the purpose and practice in service was insisted upon as the saving clause. The economic basis of ethics was as clearly recognized as the ethical basis of economics. The hope of the ultimate consistency between the Golden Rule of our faith and the practice of our business was postulated even more upon the manifest destiny of economic evolution toward combination, than upon direct ethical or philanthropic effort to this end. A true self-interest from a business point of view, it was declared, would more and more involve the necessity of the unselfish service of others.



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PUBLISHER'S CORNER.

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ance of a further reminder, and us the time and money that a letter and postage would cost, and that might better be used in the direct extension of our work.

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The matron of a well known Masonic Home mentions one inmate, seventy years of age, who has been in the infirmary for three years, a great sufferer from indigestion, and has been taking Ripans Tabules about a year and a half and finds them so beneficial that he is never without them. He is willing that his name should be used in a testimonial, as it might be of use in persuading some other person to try them. A second old gentleman, in the same institution, eighty-four years of age, has had liver trouble for many years and finds that R·I·P·A·N·S help him very much. They also have two nurses there, one thirty years of age, the other forty-two; both suffer from indigestion, causing headache, depression of spirits and nervousness. They take the Tabules and find them so useful that they always have a package in their pockets. The matron also states that she is forty-five years of age and at times suffers with indigestion, causing pain and paroxysms of belching, and finds that the Tabules are very good indeed and is perfectly willing to have her name used in a testimonial.

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